/10 cont./ Simultaneously he will
437 devote himself to some business with severe personages, whom
441 he will call chuyûkh, without analyzing too much the legal
[191] character of their calling, and who will lend to the limited partnership and to the subsequent purchases the aid of their bilingualism. Several Israelites, meek usurers, cultivate discreet commissions. Having thus renewed his forces, the believer plunges
[426] [563] 133 toward the S. Here he is branching off in the direction of the col of the Bwibaun, now dethroned in our nomenclature by the Tizi Umachchô (3).

[823] 3. Such is in fact the local pronunciation, which is related to the Stephano-Triassic red sandstone of the col: it is called amachchô, "cat rock" (allusion to the color). But the naming of the rocks in the region absolutely lacks rigor. I cite the explanations that were given to me.

And from there toward the Sous, through the valley of the Issen. In the distance, the scholarly delights of a capital, Taroudant.

174 But let us leave this imaginary periplus; one amuses oneself in outlining it only in order to make felt better perhaps the contradiction that it will bring to the story. This Mussulman traveler is intemporal; one is not sure that his Imintanout existed before the
174 sixteenth century and the /11/ decline of the Maçmûda. As for
137 the almond trees and olive trees, it is difficult to state precisely in what measure they have survived or, on the other hand, taken the place of the forest of argan trees, which perhaps extended to to asif el-Mîl in the fifteenth century. And what is to be thought of elements as characteristic of a landscape as the thuya, the gum tree, or the associations of the oléolentiscetum could have been in this piedmont deforested today.

133 Let us return then to the map, still imperfect. These valleys, these gaps, the Nffis, the asif el-Mîl, the Seksawa, all

/45 cont./

565 563 Below the common people are the haraten /Haratin/, particularly numerous, as we have seen, in the valleys of the Sous and especially of the Haut-Dra and the Dadès, as well as in the oases of the Noun and Bani. Of diverse origins, they are perhaps the result of the crossing of the ancient black populations of the Sahara and slaves from the Sudan, introduced in large numbers by the Berbère /Berber/ conquerors or bought by the sultans from the Arab slave traders. As a matter of fact, the Makhzen /makhzan/ has always been a great importer of blacks. They are also found in large numbers in the vicinity of the casbahs of kaids or near sherifian fortresses. In the Anti-Atlas they have mingled without difficulty with the tribes of the Igezzoulen (1),

1. "In spite of this political equality, in spite of this recognized common origin, the Chellaha regard themselves as superior to the Haratin and the latter feel inferior. They try to raise themselves by marrying light-colored women." "When marriage is spoken of, says the proverb, the Arab asks: Is she from a good family? the chleuh /Shluh/: Is she rich? the hartani /Haratin/: Is she white?" De Foucauld, Reconnaissance au Maroc /Reconnaissance in Morocco/, p. 88.

[538] [581]

still without being completely lost in the "ʿamma." In the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ the Masmouda have resisted more, but, in the [463] [326] years of want, one sees the haraten, mostly blacksmiths or craftsmen, marry daughters of notables. The minor sheiks of the high [567] valleys almost all possess two or three black slaves, who marry in the country and whose children take their place little by little among the free men.

Jews form the most scorned class in Berbère /Berber/ country. They too, however, end up by in part entering the ranks /46/ of the "ʿamma." Doubtless there are still quite large mellahs

/46 cont./

565 /Moroccan ghettos/ -- Goulimin, Illigh, Taroudant, Amismiz,
563 Imi n Tanout -- with close relations with the large Jewish center that prospers in Mogador by monopolizing the commerce of the South. But the many traditions collected among the Haha, in
[797] the central and western Anti-Atlas, as well as the Haut-Dra among the Skourra and the Glawa, prove the ancient existence of many families of Jewish origin, converted to Islam for several centuries. At the time of Léon l'Africain /Leo Africanus/, one
[195] still saw several Israelite communities in the Sous taking part in the tribal wars in order to defend their lands and keep their religion (1).

[113] 1. Léon l'Africain, Description de l'Afrique /Description of Africa/, Scheffer edit., Vol. I, pp. 163-164.

565 One might think that they were the ones who remained of the old
563 Judaized Berbère /Berber/ tribes of the Far South, whom the con-
797 quest of the Igezzoulen must have forced to accept Islam. In the Anti-Atlas still in our day it is not rare to find families converted for less than a century, just as one is shown the locality of ancient villages and ruined agadirs /collective storehouses, sometimes serving as fortresses/ whose Jewish population was conquered, Islamized by force, and dispersed by the Mussulmans of the vicinity.

433 X. The economic life. -- We have stated the difficult con-
241 ditions under which human life develops in the Sous. Now, as in the Anti-Atlas, the rains are too infrequent to fertilize the great expanses of the plateaus on which the Berbère /Berber/ plow can pass; again, as in the Deren, where water is more abundant, it is the earth that is lacking on the rocky flank of the mountains or in the narrow gorges of the torrents; elsewhere, on the plains, the springs and the séguias scarcely suffice to bring into being the small oases of the foot of the Dir or the thin string of gardens of the bottom of the large valleys.

609 /245 cont./

574

[344] [485] I. The hospitality. -- There does not exist in the high valleys of the Atlas any tribal house intended for meetings of the assembly and for the sheltering of passing guests, such as the ones that were observed by de Foucauld at the edge of the desert.

*[634] [162] Strangers, /246/ few in number besides, could not stay in the country more than one or two days; if they wanted to linger there, they would have to settle down in the fraction in the capacity of inhabitants, "soukkan." Those who wish to settle in this way for

609 57 556 563 [672] [464] some time in the villages put themselves under the protection of a rich man and take shelter modestly in a small enclosure that they construct on one side of the master's house. Most often the latter is personally responsible for the crimes or offenses of which the "soukkan" on whom he has agreed to exercise his patronage may become guilty. Hired for their work, they remain foreigners.

609 641 563 Even after a year's sojourn, they are not always subject to the obligations of war or taxes that weigh on the inhabitants of the country. On the other hand, in the fractions of the plain, where the renewal of the population is much more active, the foreigner can acquire citizenship after a short stay.

609 166 *634 563 When it happens that foreigners present themselves in numbers at the frontier of a "taqbilt," driven out by internal wars or vengeances that are practiced against them in their canton of origin, a consultation of the jema'a of the "inflas" is necessary in order to enable them to settle down. If they are approved and their presence can strengthen the group that gives them refuge, they settle down to live with their flocks in part of the valley and build a hamlet, but they by no means participate in the government of the fraction that accepts them. Long years are necessary for them to come to find their place on the council.

It is unparalleled in the Sous that new arrivals would have had to buy citizenship for money. In critical periods, weak fractions have gladly appealed to outsiders for reinforcement, and even give them money, grain, or nuts to facilitate their establishment; but often the situation of the latter remains precarious

/246 cont./
609 and a change in external policy can have their expulsion as a
166 consequence (1).
*634
563

1. Cf. above, Book II, Ch. III, pp. 245-246.

[681] At other times, too, a group that fears being reduced by the exodus of families decrees penalties against those who try to pass into neighboring fractions. In this domain there is no general [619] rule, and each "taqbilt," each "khoms" or tribe is inspired by its own interest.

474 /247/ II. The mutual aid and the contributions. -- Under
171 the name of "ouzia" one finds throughout the South of Morocco
681 the Kabyle custom of the "timecheret," purchase in common of
574 an animal whose flesh is to be distributed among all the inhabitants of the village; but the "ouzia" here most often preserves a religious character, and this practice does not become, as in the Djurjura, the occasion for obliging the inhabitants guilty of infractions of the laws of the city to offer a good meal to the whole village.

681 Here the benefit of the "imensi n tqbilt," solemn meal that
574 the criminal or delinquent gives to repair the moral wrong that he has done to the community, is reserved solely to the Aït Arbaʿin,
*634 to the inflas of the senate of the canton. The "imensi ntqbilt," the "supper of the tribe," is, besides, a good windfall for the notables themselves, who are satisfied in everyday life with meager fare. The desire to have a good supper free of charge readily inclines the Aït Arbaʿin to give proof of great severity in the repression of offenses.

466 The corvées for plowing, harvesting, and transporting manure
476 are the occasion of manifestations of disinterested mutual aid to which the name of "touiza" is given. The "touiza" is granted to all who ask for it. One who cannot plow his field because of his [571] poverty makes a "ʿar" to the jemaʿa in the form of a lump of [754] sugar; on the next day the workers assemble and come to the aid of the unfortunate one or the widow without support.

557
*634 /346 cont./
*631 families who have entered the service of the new power will keep
616 their exemptions and maintain some ease in the general poverty.
652 In other commands, among the Mtougga, for example, the
178 notables of the kaid's tribe utilized in the administration and the
184 government of the conquered regions often get the title of amghar
*631 in their own village. They command only members of their
*634 family, but thanks to their rank as amghar they avoid, for the
557 extraordinary contributions, being subject to the ruinous agency
554 of the caliphates and mokhaznis and deal directly with the great
chief. Among the Glawa, certain cantons remain privileged be-
184 cause they still furnish in great number minor chiefs and contin-
*631 gents in charge of keeping the distant tribes under the yoke.
*634 These missions abroad are rather profitable besides, and one thus
662 sees poor valleys, like that of the Ouneila, associated from the
first with the fortune of the master of Telwet, adorned with hand-
some dwellings. Their inhabitants have become rich in the serv-
ice of the lord and they have followed his example from afar by
building houses adorned with towers.

*631 While the domains increase, other residences also are seen to
*634 rise around the house of the chief. They are those of his brothers
661 and relatives who have participated with him in the conquest of
602 the tribes for some years. Tagontaft, Talat n Yaqoub in the Asif
Nefis, Bou Taradin in the small state of Mokhtar Seksawi, Boua-
boud of the Mtougga, the little basin of Telwet uniformly present
to us the same spectacle of the colonization of the best lands by
the chief's relatives, who also have become beneficiaries of the
corvées and lenders of money to the poor people.

*631 Finally, under the protection of the casbah, a small mellah
*634 /ghetto/ is established; Jews facilitate trade and conclude with
43 the Mussulmans /347/ all the bargains that the kaid could not
443 negotiate directly without blushing. By control of the important
•563 souks /sooks/ at the foot of the mountains, the creation of large
[543] annual fairs, such as the "mousem of Taouloukoult" of the
[655] Mtougga, the economic life itself is governed by the mountain
chief, who takes possession little by little of all the country's
resources to the point that he will soon come to rent out the mo-
nopoly of the sale of commodities to friends or Jewish associates.

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

help asked for is refused. An individual may also take an unmarried daughter into another man's house and invoke his assistance, saying that this is *'ar* upon him. The girl is then left there until the owner of the house and his friends have satisfied the request (Bruno and Bousquet, 1942, pp. 361-362; Westermarck, 1926, Vol. 1, pp. 520-530, 560-561).

The use of *'ar*, however, is not restricted to persons engaged in civil or criminal cases, but may also be employed by public bodies, or their representatives against such individuals. This is illustrated by usage among the Ait Youssi (234-236), Westermarck reporting that in the event that a murderer and his male relatives in the patrilineal line have fled, unrelated elders in the village attempt to postpone the blood-feud by casting *'ar* upon the victim's family – either by sacrificing a sheep at the grave, or descending into the open grave itself while scribes give recitations on the behalf of the still unburied deceased. Through this, and the intervention of still other people, the relatives of the deceased eventually agree upon a period of truce; before the expiration of this truce the homicide or his relatives have a *sherif* or other influential men again cast *'ar* upon the family until such a time as they are willing to accept blood-money. *'Ar* may also be cast by the inhabitants of a defeated village upon the members of the victorious group for the purpose of ending the conflict – individuals of a third village or holy men acting as the mediators (Coon, 1931, pp. 105, 162-163; Westermarck, 1926, Vol. 1, pp. 530-532).

An outstanding example of the use of shame compulsion to secure protection is provided by the *ksour* inhabitants of the south, these placing themselves under the protection of a neighboring nomadic tribe by the ceremony known in Arabic as *debiha* and in Tashilhait as *tigarsi*. Another example would be the practice on the part of Jews in Berber areas of using *'ar* to secure a Moslem protector or patron (La Chapelle, 1929, p. 37).

The third type of alliance – known among the Shluh by the term *ameqqon* ("relationship, alliance"), among the Beraber as *tagmat* ("brotherhood"), and among the Zenata as *taimat* ("brotherhood") is concluded between single individuals or families who desire to establish a mutually profitable relationship legally equivalent to that

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

571 which would exist if they were collateral kinsmen. Such a relation-
563 ship, established by a covenant, may have a military purpose, a number of families within a village forming alliances for mutual defense or to increase their strength for purposes of vengeance. If
621 such a military alliance is formed in response to an act perpetrated within the village, it is usually countered by a second; so that the entire village becomes divided into two rival divisions, known as *sof* in Arabic and as *ameqqon* in Tashilhait. Such a polarization of the village is not an inevitable consequence of the use of the alliance mechanism, however, for the alliance may also have as its purpose such peaceful goals as the sharing of irrigated farmland or pasture-land (Bruno and Bousquet, 1946, pp. 364-365; Marcy, 1929, p. 141; Montagne, 1931, p. 196; Westermarck, 1926, Vol. 1, pp. 564-565).

The concept of the alliance of individuals and families through a bond of brotherhood is extended further to the concept of the al-
628 liance by brotherhood of larger groups. Two general cases occur;
571 *tada* alliances and *leff* alliances. Of these, *tada* alliances are the least inclusive, generally being established by covenant between two divisions or even two tribes already linked by some form of ethnic
628 tie. Although *tada* alliances are not unknown among the Shluh (see
571 for example, Westermarck, 1926, Vol. 1, p. 526), they are most
171 frequent among the transhumants, here having vitally important economic functions. As with the *taimat*, or *tagmat*, the symbolism of the *tada* alliance emphasizes the establishment of ties of brotherhood between the two groups; this is clearly expressed among the Beni Ouarain (241-267), where the two groups exchange containers of milk, the contents of which are then poured on the ground between to symbolize the nourishment of both groups by the milk of a common mother, such symbolism is also occasionally resorted to in the casting of *'ar* on the *amur* type alliance (type 2, Table V), when a fugitive touches a woman, pretends to suck her breast, sits down in front of her, or turns her handmill – for he thus becomes, as it were, her son. Among the Ait Atta (465-491) this symbolic act is reserved for the ceremony of *afergant*, a *tada* alliance being established instead by a ceremony of covenanting involving the exchange of slippers or cloaks (Bruno and Bousquet, 1946, pp. 365-368; Deverdun, 1942, p. 314, Marcy, 1929, p. 142; Spillmann,